

CEPPS/IRI Bosnia and Herzegovina Report: April 1 – June 30, 2005
Bosnia and Herzegovina: Local Political Party, Ministry Communications and Policy
Analysis Development Program
USAID Cooperative Agreement No. 168-A-00-03-00106-00
Project Dates: July 1, 2003 – October 31, 2005
Total Budget: \$1,200,000 Expenses to date: \$775,899
Project # 8050

I. Summary

IRI completed negotiations with USAID for its 2005 workplan this quarter, and received approval to proceed with the outlined activities on May 24, 2005. In addition, IRI received a no cost extension to continue the current grant through October 31, 2005. Both parties signed the grant extension on June 22, 2005. IRI hired a research assistant for the Sarajevo office and began recruiting for a second expatriate resident program officer.

During this quarter, IRI continued its assistance to political parties by conducting a series of communications seminars for national and local political party leaders. IRI staff conducted field visits to local political party partners and started negotiations with NDI and USAID to change a few of the agreed upon municipalities. Political party partners participated in a policy analysis seminar, which marked the beginning of IRI's pilot project to spark networking and collaboration between political parties and independent researchers and think tanks. Finally, the Institute completed contracts and preliminary preparations for its survey research project.

II. Program Activities

A. Political Party Development

IRI conducted a series of two seminars on political party communications in Sarajevo this quarter focusing on internal and external party communications. Due to the varying level of communications experience and party organizational capacities, IRI divided its partners into a group of participants with intermediate training needs and a group with advanced training needs. IRI conducted the internal party communications seminars on April 9-10 for national and local representatives of the Social Democratic Party(SDP), the Alliance of New Social Democrats (SNSD), the Socialist Party (SP) and the "Work for Progress" Party (NSRzB); and on May 21-22 for national and local representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), The Democratic Patriots' Party (DPS), the New Croatian Initiative(NHI), the Democratic Party (DS), and the Democratic People's Union (DNS). IRI staff conducted external party communications training on June 4-5 for national and local party communications representatives from the SDP, SNSD, SP and NSRzB; and June 11-12, 2005 for representatives from the LDS, DPS, NHI, DS, and DNS. Volunteer trainers for these seminars included John Hoffman, former Executive Director of the Illinois Republican Party; Kevin Eckery, of Eckery and Associates Political Consulting Agency; and former IRI Bosnia Country Director Steven Gibbs. IRI Program Assistants Zlatan Burzic and Davor Vuletic complemented workshop activities with presentations of local best practice examples in internal and external party communications.

Since many of the participants had previous communications training experience, IRI designed workshops in an interactive manner, working with the participants to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of their internal communications systems and media statements made by their senior party leadership on current issues and subsequently identifying areas for improvement.

Participants also reviewed communications plans regarding EU integration from Slovakia and Bulgaria. Other workshop topics included discussions on communications goals, strategy and planning, communication tools and technology, political marketing, and working with the media. Participant evaluations rated IRI's approach to party communications assistance very highly and individual comments received by IRI staff noted the useful approach of interactive exercises.

(Please see attachments A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I for mission statements and agendas)

IRI staff held consultations with national party leaders to review cooperation since January 2005 and to discuss upcoming program activities and planning for the 2006 election year. IRI Country Director Barbara Broomell, Program Assistants Zlatan Burzic and Davor Vuletic, and Research Assistant Haris Basic met with party chairs and leading main board members of the DNS, DPS, SNSD, SP, DS and HSS during the week of May 30 and the LDS, SDP and NSRzB during the week of June 6.

The meetings served primarily as a planning and information update between IRI staff and the program's political party partners. IRI reviewed upcoming program activities including the policy analysis project, seminar topics, new municipality assessments, survey research and ideas for programming beyond October 2005. In general, the parties were very receptive to IRI's ideas and eager for continued assistance. Smaller parties including the DNS, DPS, DP and HSS expressed concern regarding new election legislation under negotiation that would impose a 3-5% threshold not only for parties to enter parliament, but to also receive state funding for their organizations. IRI discussed coalition-building possibilities with these parties.

The following are highlights of the meetings with national party officials:

- **DNS** – IRI staff met with DNS General Secretary Dragutin Rodić and Secretary of the Main Board Radomir Trivić. The party leaders estimate that they have been able to build a solid base of about 24,000 – 26,000 voters, and are continuing to build their grassroots structure to expand this number. DNS officials proved eager to participate in IRI's policy analysis project and will delegate their council for Political and Economic Issues to review and recommend action related to IRI-commissioned issue papers.
- **SP** – IRI staff met with SP Main Board member Saša Čudić, Women's Branch president Jelena Savić. The SP leaders informed IRI of the June 3-4 party convention and the follow up congress, which is planned for December. The SP has shown marked improvement in the party's internal coordination and, as a result, enjoyed success in the local elections of 2005. They plan to focus their resources on those municipalities in which they have strong support and look forward to continued partnership with IRI in Teslic.

- **SNSD** - IRI staff met with SNSD general secretary Igor Radojičić and executive board members Srebrenka Golić and Stanislav Čađo. The SNSD leaders were particularly interested in IRI polls and focus groups, which would help them test their messages. SNSD has been particularly vocal recently concerning European integration and the need for reforms to accomplish that goal. They stated that IRI polls and focus groups would help them get feedback from the public on their standpoint on these issues. SNSD was also interested in learning more about the motivation of the electorate and how to target undecided voters who state they would definitely vote in the 2006 elections.
- **NSRzB** – IRI staff met with party president Mladen Ivankovic, vice president Jerko Ivankovic and general secretary Marko Romić. NSRzB leaders showed particular interest in IRI's policy analysis project and felt it could hold enormous opportunity for developing their party's stance on issues of community priority. In addition to the general IRI business mentioned above, IRI staff also explored the party's understanding of public opinion surrounding the party leaders' personal legal issues. President Ivankovic stated that the party would capitalize on IRI's survey research project and consider adding questions regarding his indictment to make strategic party decisions and develop a message strategy.

During the week of June 6, IRI staff conducted consultations in four of the six municipalities where the Institute plans to continue work. IRI teams met with local party leaders in Ilidza, Teslic, Gradiska and Livno and reviewed key points emphasized at recent Sarajevo training seminars, documented recent activities conducted by the partners and discussed future consultation and training needs.

The following are highlights from the local party consultations:

Ilidza

- IRI met with SDP local branch president Suada Hadžović and municipal board secretary Anto Mrnjavac. The local branch officials stated they have been active in improving their local structures and updating their membership database. They have created 26 local organizations this year, expanding from the previous 16 in an effort to involve more people in party activities on the field. They also hope the reorganization and expansion will improve their internal communications capabilities. The local party leaders expressed interest in training and consultation on working with volunteers.

Teslić

- IRI met with SP municipal board secretary Mr. Slavko Delić, executive board member Ljubomir Savić and youth president Mladen Lukić. The SP has been rejuvenated since winning the mayor's seat in Teslic, defeating the SDS, who had dominated the local government of Teslic for 10 years. They now estimate that they have brought in 100 new members in 2005. The mayor's campaign was supported by the SP, SNSD, SDP BiH, NHI and SBiH. The SP officials highlighted the need for governance assistance for the

mayor and other local officials. They also highlighted concern over how to motivate and involve ordinary citizens in public debate and discussion of priority issues.

- IRI met with SDP local branch president Elmir Huseinbašić and deputy chair of the Teslic municipal council Murat Kopic. The SDP leaders stated that the biggest local problems that they face are economic in nature. The struggling economy and high unemployment continue to force young people to seek jobs outside of the municipality. Therefore, the party is struggling to develop a local youth policy and to involve more young people in their efforts. The SDP leaders asked IRI for assistance in crafting a strategy to engage the youth population and to get them more involved in the political process.
- IRI met with SNSD secretary and chairman of the municipal council Mile Brkić and SNSD local branch vice president Pavlović Dragomi. The local SNSD organizations have been working to involve citizens in public discussions. They printed and distributed a guide to Teslic's municipality administration in order to inform citizens of their local representatives, the responsibilities of the different local government departments and the service their representatives provide to them. The local party branch is also involved in the drafting and production of the municipality's monthly brochure on current issues, upcoming plans and actions taken within Teslic. The SNSD Teslic branch highlighted the need for party finance and fundraising as well as local polling and voter canvassing efforts as future training needs.

Gradiška

- IRI met with the new local leadership team of the DNS including President Pejić Đuro and municipal board members Zorica Šljivić and Aleksandar Šljivić. The organization seemed to be in a state of rebuilding and was interested in IRI's assistance with local organization development and external communications.
- IRI met with SNSD local vice president and chairman of the municipal assembly Uroš Grahovac and executive technical secretary Valentina Perić. Through the work of their mayor and local council coalition, they are working to improve local conditions for private business investment in anticipation of the entity-level decision on privatization and economic development. In addition, they are working to develop a reputation as a local government of the people. The SNSD local branch is reorganizing its municipal and local boards and has requested IRI's assistance in motivating citizens to participate in public debate on priority issues and how to conduct local polls or voter canvassing efforts to test the work of their party and popularity of their elected officials.

B. Ministerial Communications Program

In the previous reporting period, IRI conducted a new round of meetings with officials in the communications departments of the state-level ministries. IRI completed meetings with the communications directors in the Council of Ministers, Ministry of Foreign Trade and Ministry of

Civil Affairs. Together with the Ministry of Defense, a partner identified previously, IRI found that these ministries each possessed common needs for training and consultation need developed ideas for assistance.

During this reporting period, IRI staff proposed individualized training and consultation for these ministries to USAID for approval. However, due to current political sensitivities the Institute was limited to working only with the Ministry of Defense. IRI is currently revising its program strategy and proposed activities for the Ministry of Defense to activity in the other two program areas.

C. Policy Analysis Development Program

On June 18 and 19, IRI conducted a policy analysis seminar for national and local leaders from the SDP, SP, NSRzB, NHI, DNS, DPS, DS and LDS. David Tuerck, Executive Director of the Beacon Hill Institute at Suffolk University in Boston, Massachusetts, led the seminar workshops and exercises. IRI Program Assistants Zlatan Burzic and Davor Vuletic also presented an overview of Bosnia and Herzegovnia's fledgling think tank market and local political party initiatives to incorporate policy development in their programs. Workshops reviewed policy development in the United States, the role of the think tank and researcher, and party organization and policy development. In addition, seminar attendees participated in several interactive discussions on how to improve their party organizations to efficiently review and approve policy. IRI researchers on health and social sector issues, Sanela Basic, and public administration reform, Sead Traljic, also attended the seminar and discussed their research papers with the party participants.

This seminar was part of a larger policy analysis program conducted by IRI in which the Institute is working to improve collaboration between political parties and independent think tanks and researchers. To date, IRI has commissioned research in the areas of public administration reform, a ministry administration case study, judicial reform, macroeconomy and business, and the health and social sector. These papers are to be finalized in August and presented to the parties for follow-up consultation in September or October of this year.

(Please see attachments J and K)

Unfortunately, due to the lack of qualified candidates proposing an innovative approach to the issue of corruption, IRI has not yet commissioned a report on this topic. IRI has subsequently re-posted the request for proposal on the corruption issue paper in June, and received nine new candidate applications. IRI has interviewed a short list of three candidates and hopes to commission the corruption paper in the beginning of the next reporting period.

Finally, IRI worked with the Urban Institute and World Learning on the upcoming policy conference titled "Beyond Analysis: The Broader Role of Policy Research Organizations in BiH." The conference will take place in Jahorina from July 14 – 16 and will feature local, regional and foreign experts on policy analysis and development. IRI provided the Urban Institute and World Learning with contacts of suggested opposition political party members working on policy development. In addition, IRI will provide American and regional political

party members who will speak on the role of independent researchers and think tanks in their political party work.

D. Public Opinion Research

In consultation with USAID, IRI revised its survey research project format conducted in 2004, and outlined an intensive training and results-oriented approach for its political party partners benefit. The new format allows individual parties to provide more input into the creation of the polling questionnaires and focus group guides, as well as offering them the opportunity to purchase additional questions or oversamples that better meet their internal strategies. IRI staff and consultants designed this approach to help parties focus on their priorities and obtaining survey results that can be put to action.

IRI commissioned two polls and three waves of 10 focus groups with Prism Research, a Sarajevo based survey research firm, that has worked previously with IRI and NDI in Bosnia. In addition, IRI contracted Bob Carpenter of American Viewpoint research agency based in Alexandria, Virginia, to oversee the technical aspects of the project, provide political analysis of the results and to present the analysis in consultations with party leaders and USAID staff. Dino Djipa, President of Prism Research and Marina Franic, a researcher in the agency, were also commissioned to conduct party leader training on survey research. A biography of all survey research project consultants is attached.

(Please see attachment L)

IRI requested and received a “wish list” from its political party partners this quarter, which outlined strategies the parties would like to test in the first poll. IRI agreed to formulate 15 – 20 core questions that would be shared with all party partners. In addition, IRI allotted three questions per party to be added to the questionnaire at IRI’s expense. Finally, parties were allowed to purchase up to five additional questions for the survey and/or to purchase oversamples in strategic municipalities. IRI received these requests on June 30 and started preparations for polling workshops to be held the first week of July. The workshops will train party leaders on question, sample and survey design, review IRI’s core questions and to structure questions that would achieve the desired information for the parties’ defined strategies. IRI expects that two to five parties may purchase additional questions or oversamples on the poll.

Other meetings and activities:

On April 24, 2005, IRI participated in the LDS Party Congress. More than 300 delegates from across Bosnia and Herzegovina gathered to elect a new party leadership and discuss new political initiatives. LDP president Rasim Kadic resigned his position during this congress in order to allow a new generation of leaders to take the party reins. Kadic will remain an active member of the party.

Mr. Kadic declared his intention to make room in the LDS for progressive changes and to introduce new faces in Bosnia’s political environment. The LDS elected a new president, Lamija Tanovic, a member of the European Science Academy and the most quoted Bosnian Scientist. In addition, the LDS elected new vice presidents, a new general secretary, and new members of the

presidency board. The new leadership announced a political doctrine that will make the needs of the common citizens the focus of their political efforts.

III. Upcoming Activities

Next 30 Days:

- Party leader polling workshops.
- Field public opinion survey with oversamples.
- Policy Conference - “Beyond Analysis: The Broader Role of Policy Research Organizations in BiH.” (In cooperation with Urban Institute)
- Municipality consultations and new municipality assessments.
- Individual message development consultations with ministry staff.
- Draft research papers due for public administration reform, ministry administration case study, health and social sector and judicial reform.
- Commission research paper on corruption.
- Ongoing research for issue-oriented papers.
- Recruitment of Resident Program Officer. (TBD)

Next 60-90 days:

- Municipality consultations.
- Coalition building seminar.
- Presentation of polling and focus group results.
- Second set of party leader polling workshops.
- Field second public opinion survey with oversamples.
- Two waves of ten focus groups.
- Individual message development consultations with ministry staff.
- Individual consultations with political party officials to discuss usage of policy analysis capabilities.
- Research papers, final report due.
- Research paper presentations and follow-up party consultations.

IV. International Travel Expected Under the Grant over the Next 90 Days

- US polling consultant will travel to Bosnia to present polling results.
- IRI DC staff will travel to Bosnia for consultations.
- European policy trainer will travel to Bosnia for policy analysis training.
- US policy trainer will travel to Bosnia for policy analysis training.
- US/European trainer will travel to Bosnia for coalition building training.
- IRI Bosnia office manager will travel to the US for accounting training.
- IRI Country Director will travel to the US for consultations.

V. Issues, Problems and Recommendations

Nothing to report

VI. Obligations and Expenditures

See attached financial disclosure statement.

VII. Results and Accomplishments

Result 1

Major Political Parties cultivate and pursue issues-based political strategies.

Indicator A. *Local political parties develop and articulate a coherent political platform.*

NSRZB – The NSRZB continues to develop its image as a party that protects local food producers through the activities of the “Association of Food Producers in BiH,” led by Ranko Bakić, NSRZB vice-president. They support their ideas through an Alternative Council of Ministers (Shadow Government).

Although their public image is beginning to suffer due to the corruption indictment of its president and vice-president, they are still viewed as representatives of local food producers and advocates for common farmers. Their main theme is that BiH farmers are able to feed the country, but the government supports imports through free trade agreements and does not give subsidies for domestic production and export. They amplify their messages on this issue through different organizations, and expert groups, and are frequently present in media. The NSRZB consulted closely with IRI on the presentation of their initiatives. The NSRZB also followed the Alternative Council of Ministers example presented in the external communications training workshops as a model for improving their communications systems.

SDP BiH – The SDP has begun drafting a campaign platform for the upcoming parliamentary elections involving high-level officials and local experts with the goal of starting a broad dialogue on the country’s priorities. The result will be six program documents that will be offered to the public over the next year, after being discussed not only within the party but also with civil society organizations. The SDP seeks to educate Bosnian society on social and economic issues in order to boost voter turnout.

The SDP has asked IRI to support its coalition building efforts with civil society in BiH and welcomed IRI’s policy analysis project as a tool to vet their views on various issues. SDP members in the BiH Parliament launched three legislative initiatives this reporting period that divided parliament along center-left and center-right ideologies, regardless of ethnic background. Those initiatives included the Law on VAT, the Law on Expropriation of Illegally Gained Property and the Law on Customs and Tariffs. The SDP’s leader, Mr. Lagumdžija, has stated repeatedly that the SNSD, SP and NHI are natural allies of SDP BiH, having similar opinions on economic issues and the future of BiH. He has also asked the public in various interviews to ask themselves if they live better today than four years ago; and if not, he argues that they should vote for the opposition as an alternative.

SP – The SP continues to reform its party structure and improve its media presence. They present consistent standpoints on reforms in BiH, and their members of parliament are disciplined and stay focused on their party message. The SP continues to criticize the government on the entity and state levels, not with empty arguments but with intelligent questioning of the future of the transition process and integration with the European Union. As demonstrated in IRI's 2004 polling project, voters are looking for new faces in politics. The SP is working to recruit new members and candidates and has found success with five of their mayoral candidates. SP members were active in IRI's communications training this quarter.

NHI – The NHI focused on the issue of constitutional reform and the position of Croats in BiH. They worked on developing an alternative to HDZ's proposal of constitutional reforms, in an effort to present a more positive force working for the Bosnian Croats' interests. Unlike some elements of HDZ, the NHI considers the existence of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a given, and acknowledges it is an important precondition to keep the country on the path to integration with the EU.

LDS – Since the party congress and inauguration of the new leadership, the LDS has worked primarily on reorganization. They have issued an official invitation to local experts in various policy issue areas to support the party with their knowledge and volunteer work. The ongoing internal reform includes the establishment of 14 different committees that will focus on issues within the different social, economic and political sectors. The idea is to strengthen LDS's capacities in terms of making informed political decisions based on expert analysis to address the problems of common people. IRI's polling indicates that citizens overwhelmingly believe that only local experts, not political parties, and local governments are capable of forming concrete solutions to the issues of the country, unlike political parties and local governments.

Indicator B. *Percentage of citizens who believe that the local government officials are addressing issues of concern to them increases.*

Nothing to report

Indicator C. *Voter turnout in local elections increases.*

Nothing to report

Indicator D. *Transparency of local commission and executive branch operations; availability of budgets and financial statements to the public, NGOs and the media.*

The LDS is undertaking massive internal reform in order to gather all the necessary documentation that will provide for clear and transparent financial operations in the party. The new leadership has tasked former leaders with submitting all available financial documentation. In addition, the LDS has designed a new webpage that will enable interested stakeholders to trace every financial transaction, including those made by local branches, and document every important decision that the new leadership makes. The webpage will also provide for interactive

communication allowing people to submit comments and questions to the party leadership. The LDS credits IRI's support and consultation throughout the process in changing leadership and has formed a small working group that will continue to consult with IRI on future communication and organizational endeavors.

In Teslić, IRI partner parties have gained a new majority after 10 years in opposition to the SDS. As a coalition effort supported by IRI consultations prior to municipal elections, the SP, SNSD, SDP BiH and NHI successfully campaigned for the SP mayor candidate and won a majority in the Teslic municipal council. Representatives of the coalition parties attended IRI's February seminar for local elected officials, which discussed ways to include citizens in the governing process. As a result, in the first six months of their mandate, the governing coalition has organized the first time public discussions in ten years on the Municipal Statute and priorities for the future. They have also published numerous reports and informational guides to the municipality government.

Members of the coalition have organized three public discussions in the municipal hall and 15 more in local communities. They have had some difficulty motivating citizens to attend these discussions as this is the first time citizens have had access to their representatives to discuss issues of concern. However, the coalition continues to promote public discussion and hopes to have better turnout at future events.

In addition, the coalition began publishing a monthly magazine of the Teslić Municipality to inform citizens of the decisions of the council and mayor, the municipal budget, plans for the next period and accomplishments to date. They also published and distributed a guide to the municipal administration. This included information on who is in charge of which department and what documents citizens need to have prior submitting requests to the administration. All the brochures are available in the municipal building and local community offices.

In Gradiška, the SNSD mayoral candidate won his first mandate with the coalition assistance of the local SDP and SP branches. IRI supported these local party organizations through consultations and campaign training prior to the municipal elections and continued that support after the election by hosting local party representatives at the February seminar for local elected officials. While the mayor in Gradiska is finding it difficult to form a majority in the municipal council, the parties are still able to pursue reform on issues of concern to the voters. The local SDP and SP branches have initiated public discussions on the future for local construction businesses and infrastructure improvement.

Result 2

Selected government ministries develop and pursue integrated communications strategies.

Indicators:

Indicator A. *Increase in percentage of citizens who believe that the selected ministries operate transparently with participatory and thoughtful processes.*

Nothing to report

Indicator B. *Increase in the amount of policy meetings that are open to the public and to the media.*

Nothing to report

Indicator C. *Increase in percentage of citizens who understand what the selected ministries are working and what their goals are.*

Nothing to report

Indicator D. *Selected ministries implement an integrated communications strategy for the public and the news media.*

Nothing to report

Result 3

Local political parties and elected officials develop and use local policy analysis organizations to help them develop and vet policy strategies.

Indicators:

Indicator A. *Increase in the utilization by local political party organizations and local elected officials and council members of external policy analysis organizations as well as increased use of internal policy analysis organizations in developing public policy proposals.*

IRI's policy analysis seminar for political parties conducted this quarter was well attended by representatives of political parties, each looking for a different angle to incorporate IRI's issue papers in their party work. In addition, in IRI's consultations with national party leaders, program partners expressed sincere interest in IRI's commissioned research papers and committed to participating in research paper presentations and individual consultations scheduled for the fall. More advanced parties such as the SDP stated that the work of individual researchers would help lend credibility to efforts made by their internal policy experts on similar issues. By being able to cite researchers not affiliated to the party, SDP hopes to gain the attention and trust of an undecided electorate during the election campaign.

Smaller parties such as the LDS and the DS have not yet developed their organizations to the point where they have the internal capacity to develop issues-based policy based on expert research and analysis. These parties look forward to the options IRI researchers will give during the fall presentations and hope to start to outline a unique identity based on the credibility of independent research experts.

Indicator B. *Increase in percentage of citizens who can link the political identity of a party to its principles and its stances on key policy issues.*

Nothing to report

Indicator C. *Increase in the extent to which political parties and local government institutions commission public research to determine and prioritize what issues are important to their constituencies and the subsequent use of policy analysis organizations to formulate effective policy solutions to address these concerns.*

IRI's political party partners expressed great interest in IRI's survey research project and were keenly interested in having a greater stake in the creation of the project. IRI requested and each party, to the best of their ability, formulated strategies for testing and even tried to develop questions that would lead to important information they could act upon in the future. For example, the SP proposed questions to test the performance of their newly elected local officials in specific municipalities. In addition, the SDP proposed questions and ordered oversamples in Tuzla, Zenica and Novigrad Sarajevo, where the party's election results slipped between the 2000 and 2004 elections. IRI will follow up on these requests in the first week of July and anticipates clearer results after the polling and focus group presentations at the end of August.

ATTACHMENTS:

Attachment A

Agenda

Political Party Communications Seminar

Internal Communications

April 9 - 10, 2005

May 21-22, 2005

Sarajevo

Saturday

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 11:00 AM | Participant Arrivals and Hotel Check-ins |
| 11:30 PM | Seminar Registration |
| | <i>Light lunch served</i> |
| 12:00 PM | Welcome and Introductions |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Trainer, staff and guests introduction• Participant introductions• Review of seminar agenda and goals |
| 12:30 PM | Communication Goals and Planning |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is internal communication?• Internal communication's role in platform development• Developing an internal communications strategy |
| 2:00 PM | <i>Coffee Break</i> |
| 2:30 PM | Effective Information Flow |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Basic functions of internal communications, i.e. developing an image, developing issues, creating contrast, establishing and increasing name recognition.• Methods of internal communication, i.e. gathering information from activists and local chapters, incorporating those themes into external communication. |
| 4:00 PM | <i>Break</i> |

4:30 PM **Exercise – Party Information Flow**
Participants will draft a flow chart of their current party information flow and review the strengths and weaknesses of their current structure. During this process, they will be asked to revise the structure of the information flow and identify the realistic needs in improving the system. Each group will pick one representative to present the exercise results in the seminar for feedback from the trainers.

6:30 PM **Internal Party Communication Tools**

- Party newspapers or newsletters
- National and local party meetings
- Role of auxiliary groups
- Conventions

7:30 PM ***Dinner***

Sunday

9:00 AM **Technology's Answer to Effective Communication**

- Internet/Intranet
- Teleconferencing
- SMS/text messaging
- Budgets and return investment on technology

10:30 AM **Exercise and Coffee Break**
Participants will be tasked with developing an internal communications plan or improving a plan already in place for their parties. Each group will draft and present the goals of their plan, what tools they would use, and the key individuals and/or groups who would be directly involved in the plan. The groups will pick one representative to present the plan in the seminar for feedback from the trainers.

12:30 PM **Building a Foundation for External Communications**

- What is external communication?
- How to build an external communication strategy based on the internal communications system
- 10 Essentials of effective communication

1:30 PM **Seminar closing and evaluations**

2:00 PM ***Lunch***

Attachment B

Participants List

Political Party Communications Seminar

Internal Communications

April 9 - 10, 2005

Sarajevo

No	Name	Party	Position
1	IBRAHIM BALIC	SDP BIH	Secretary of Municipal Board
2	HERMIN GARIC	SDP BIH	Vice-president of Youth Board
3	SLOBODAN PISAREVIC	SPRS	Member
4	MILJAN KELJIC	SPRS	Member
5	STOJANKA ARSENIC	SPRS	Member
6	ZORICA VLASKI	SPRS	Member
7	VESNA KUKOLJ	SNSD	Member of Social Democrats Youth
8	ZORAN KOS	SNSD	President of SD Youth Kostajnica
9	MIRKO TRNIC	SNSD	Vice-president of SDY Banja Luka
10	MARKO ROMIC	NSRZB	Organization & Membership Secretary
11	RENATA PERIC	NSRZB	Secretary
12	MIRJANA TOMIC	NSRZB	Public Relations Secretary
13	VLADO STEVIC	SNSD	Spokesperson
14	MLADEN LUKIC	SPRS	President of Youth
15	LJUBOMIR SAVIC	SPRS	Member of Main Board
16	MIRKO CURIC	SNSD	Member of Social Democrats Youth
17	VELIBORKA KOVAC	SPRS	Member of Social Democrats Youth
18	NEBOJSA BRCIC	SPRS	Secretary of Municipal Board
19	NINA STEVANOVIC	SDP BIH	Forum of Youth Public Relations Secretary
20	DUSKO MIRJANIC	SDP BIH	Vice-president of Municipal Board
21	DRAGANA JOLDZIC	NSRZB	Secretary of Municipal Board
22	OLGA MILOJICA	NSRZB	responsible
23	AIDA SAVIC	NSRZB	Party Secretary of RS Main Board
24	NIKOLA BORKOVIC	NSRZB	Party Vice director of RS Main Board
25	IGOR GOLIJANIN	SNSD	Member of Social Democrats Youth
26	ZLATKO VUKOVIC	SNSD	Member of Municipal Board
27	ROBERT DRMAC	SDP BIH	Member and Volunteer of Municipal Board
28	DAMIR MEHMEDBASIC	NSRZB	Advisor for Political Issues

Attachment C

Participant Evaluations

Political Party Communications Seminar

Internal Communications

April 9 - 10, 2005

Sarajevo

Evaluation Responses – Total 18/28 participants

By filling in this questionnaire, please express your appraisal of the conference in order to help us to improve our mutual work and cooperation in future.

I. Please assess the conference with a grade from 1 to 5 (5 = Highest).

(5) – 7; (4) – 10; (3) - 1

II. Which part of the conference did you find most useful?

- a) Communication Goals and Planning - 5
- b) Effective Information Flow - 7
- c) Internal Party Communication Tools - 12
- d) Technology's Answer to Effective Communication - 12
- e) Building a Foundation for External Communications - 9

III. Which part of the conference did you find the least useful?

- a) Communication Goals and Planning
- b) Effective Information Flow - 1
- c) Internal Party Communication Tools - 3
- d) Technology's Answer to Effective Communication - 2
- e) Building a Foundation for External Communications - 1

NO SUCH PART – 11

IV. Was the model and language of presentation suitable for you?

- a) too easy – 2
- b) suitable/understandable – 15
- c) too technical and not understandable – 1

V. Do you found the examples from the seminar adequate and possible to implement in your political party and your surrounding?

Yes – 13,

Partially – 3,

More or less it depend – 2:

VI. Other comments:

- a) Move seminar place out of the town
- b) More regional experiences
- c) Practical work was so useful
- d) Many thanks to lecturers and the staff for their kindness and accessibility
- e) I liked interactive approach
- f) Regional examples would be useful
- g) It would be good if all the parties – participants receive the power point presentations from Mr. Vuletic by e-mail
- h) More about the methods of external communications
- i) Methods for lobbying donors would be useful topic
- j) This was one of the better IRI seminars. The lecturers were excellent. I thank you for the nice experience, new knowledge and friendships. All the best.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and for the time you took to fill in this questionnaire.

Attachment D

Participants List

Political Party Communications Seminar

Internal Communications

May 21-22, 2005

Sarajevo

No	Name	Party	Position
1	IVICA AGELJIC	HSS	HSS BiH Presidency Member
2	NINOSLAV SUSILOVIC	HSS	Member of Municipal Board
3	MLADEN GOJANOVIC	DS	DS Information Team Member
4	SARA PAJIC	DS	Technical Secretary
5	ELIC IGOR	LDS/LSH	Member of LDS Youth
6	BLAZO STEVOVIC	LDS/LSH	President of LDS Republic Board
7	RIZALIJA BECIC	LDS	LDS Presidency Member
8	ALMIN MESUKIC	LDS	Vice-President of HNK Cantonal Board
9	NEDA POZDERAC	HSS	Party Secretary
10	RADOMIR TRIVIC	DNS	Secretary of DNS's Main Board
11	ZAGORKA TRIVIC	DNS	Member of Party
12	RADMILA KOCIC	DNS	Vice-President of Municipal Board Celinac
13	MATASIC JOVKA	NHI	Secretary of NHI Main Office
14	ANGELA BIBERDZIC	NHI	President of Fojnica
15	JADRANKO OHNEC	NHI	Party Secretary
16	ZORAN BABIC	DPS	President of Municipal Board Banja Luka
17	ANITA CABRO	NHI	President of NHI Youth

Attachment E

Agenda

Political Party Communications Seminar

External Communications

June 4-5, 2005

June 11-12, 2005

Sarajevo

Saturday

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 11:00 AM | Participant Arrivals and Hotel Check-ins |
| 11:30 PM | Seminar Registration |
| | <i>Light lunch served</i> |
| 12:00 PM | Welcome and Introductions |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Trainer, staff and guests introduction• Participant introductions• Review of seminar agenda and goals |
| 12:30 PM | Overview of External Communications |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is external communications?• How to build an external communication strategy based on the internal communications system• Technology and external communications• 10 Essentials of effective communication |
| 2:00 PM | <i>Coffee Break</i> |
| 2:30 PM | Public Appearances |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Public Forums• TV/Radio Forums• Effective Speech Writing• Speech delivery |
| 4:00 PM | <i>Break</i> |

4:30 PM **Exercise –Speech Writing**
Participants divide by party group and will each be given a topic and asked to write a short, concise speech for their local party chairmen to give at a town hall forum. Each group will assign a “chairman” who will deliver the 10 minute speech to the seminar group. Trainers and participants will highlight the positive and negative aspects of the speech and delivery.

6:30 PM **Debates and effective opposition tactics**

- Debate formats
- Letters to the editor
- Creating Contrast

7:30 PM ***Dinner***

Sunday, April 10

9:00 AM **Working with the Media**

- Overcoming biased media coverage
- Marketing positive stories
- Positioning to gain media attention
- Earned vs. Paid media strategies

10:00 AM ***Coffee Break***

10:30 AM **Communications strategy**

- Creating a message utilizing your own strengths, weaknesses and knowledge of your district
- Balancing national party messages with local reality
- Elements of a communication plan

12:30 PM **Exercise – External Communications Plans**
Participants will be tasked with developing an external communications plan or improving a plan already in place for their parties. Each group will draft and present the goals of their plan, what tools they would use, and the key individuals and/or groups who would be directly involved in the plan. The groups will pick one representative to present the plan in the seminar for feedback from the trainers.

1:30 PM **Seminar closing and evaluations**

2:00 PM ***Lunch***

Attachment F

Participants List

Political Party Communications Seminar

External Communications

June 4-5, 2005

Sarajevo

No	Name	Party
.		
1	OLGA MILOJICA	NSRZB
2	NEBOJSA TOJAGIC	NSRZB
3	KOVACEVIC SASA	SNSD
4	COLIC HARIS	SDP BIH
5	BOJAN BOSNJAK	NSRZB
6	DJONLAGIC MINELA	SDP BIH
7	TONCIC SANDRA	SDP BIH
8	MILAN LJEPOJEVIC	SNSD
9	MILAN TUKIC	SNSD
10	KRSTO GRUJIC	SNSD
11	LJUBOMIR SAVIC	SP
12	BOSKO JOVICIC	SP
13	MLADEN LUKIC	SP
14	RESO KENAN	SDP BIH

Attachment G

Participant Evaluations

Political Party Communications Seminar

External Communications

June 4-5, 2005

Sarajevo

Evaluation forms results (total 9 forms)

I. Rank the seminar with marks 1 to 5.

Mark 3 – 1; mark 4 – 6; mark 5 – 2.

II. Which topics do you find most useful?

- a) What is external communication?
- b) How to develop external communication strategy based on the internal party communication system? – 4
- c) Technology and external communication. – 3
- d) 10 the most important things in effective communication. – 3

III. Which topics you found not useful?

- a) What is external communication? - 1
- b) How to develop external communication strategy based on the internal party communication system? – 1
- c) Technology and external communication.
- d) 10 the most important things in effective communication.
- e) No such topics – 7

IV. Is the language and method of presentation suitable for you?

- a) Too easy – 1
- b) Correct/ understandable – 8
- c) Too technical and not understandable

V. Do you have some concrete suggestion so IRI could help you and your party in future?

- a) Public opinion polls
- b) Organize “train the trainer” workshops on “ Media training – media appearance and public presentation”
- c) Organize workshop with political parties in the process of questionnaire creation

Attachment H

Participants List

Political Party Communications Seminar

External Communications

June 11-12, 2005

Sarajevo

No	Name	Party	Position
1	<i>Sonja Papo</i>	<i>NHI</i>	<i>Vicepresident</i>
2	<i>Ismar Kutlovac</i>	<i>BiH Youth</i>	<i>Member</i>
3	<i>Boris Vukusic</i>	<i>LDS</i>	<i>Member</i>
4	<i>Vinko Lolic</i>	<i>DNS</i>	<i>PR office</i>
5	<i>Celic Marko</i>	<i>DPS</i>	<i>Member</i>
6	<i>Anita Cabro</i>	<i>NHI</i>	<i>Youth President</i>
7	<i>Mladen Stojanovic</i>	<i>DS</i>	<i>PR office</i>
8	<i>Sara Pajic</i>	<i>DS</i>	<i>Technical Secretary</i>

Attachment I

Participants Evaluations

Political Party Communications Seminar

External Communications

June 11-12, 2005

Sarajevo

Evaluation forms results (total 8 forms)

I. Rank the seminar with marks 1 to 5.

Mark 4 – 6; mark 5 – 2.

II. Which topics do you find most useful?

- e) What is external communication?
- f) How to develop external communication strategy based on the internal party communication system? – 6
- g) Technology and external communication.
- h) 10 the most important things in effective communication. – 5

III. Which topics you found not useful?

- f) What is external communication? - 1
- g) How to develop external communication strategy based on the internal party communication system?
- h) Technology and external communication. – 1
- i) 10 the most important things in effective communication.
- j) No such topics – 6

IV. Is the language and method of presentation suitable for you?

- d) Too easy
- e) Correct/ understandable – 7
- f) Too technical and not understandable - 1

V. Do you have some concrete suggestion so IRI could help you and your party in future?

- d) Help with the town hall meetings, presentations.
- e) Internal seminar for each party on this issue.
- f) Just continue to exchange the information and analysis

Attachment J

Agenda

**Policy Analysis Seminar
June 18-19, 2005
Sarajevo**

Friday, June 17

PM Participant Arrivals and Hotel Check-ins

Saturday, June 18

9:00 AM Seminar Registration

9:30 AM Welcome and Introductions

- Trainer, staff and guests introduction
- Participant introductions
- IRI Policy Analysis Project
- Review of seminar agenda and goals

10:30 AM Policy Analysis and Development in the United States

- Role of independent and partisan think tanks
- Relationship and cooperation among think tanks and political parties
- The role of research in effective campaigns and governance

12:00 PM *Coffee break*

12:30 PM The Role of the Researcher/Think Tank

- Overview and practical steps in policy analysis
- Creation of issue papers, policy briefs, and other reports
- Working with the client
- Partisan versus independent researchers

2:00 PM *Lunch*

2:30 PM	Policy Planning; Texas and Massachusetts Tax Policy Case Study Dr. Tuerck will review the stages of policy development using a best practice scenario from his recent experience with the issue of the Texas and Massachusetts proposed tax reform. Dr. Tuerck will discuss the development of the tax reform issue and his Institute's research and publication of economic models to explore alternate solutions in tax reforms.
4:00 PM	Workshop and Coffee Break <i>Policy Analysis Capacity Building I –</i> <i>Prioritizing, setting goals and developing a plan</i> In this workshop, participants will be split by party organization and asked to review their current policy and platform development systems. Participants will be asked to first consider their parties' own priorities and goals for policy development, taking into consideration their own resources and IRI's program assistance. Participants will then be asked to outline a four-month implementation plan for reaching their goals.
7:00 PM	<i>Dinner</i>
Sunday, June 19	
9:00 AM	Party Organization and Policy Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role of the National Party and Local Party Structures • Policy Committees, Conventions • Creating a unique party identity and gaining credibility with voters • Communicating policies to party members and potential supporters • Communicating policies in the media
10:30 AM	Improving Policy in BiH <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key principles in policy development • Targeted audiences • Suggested policy areas to be addressed in policy analysis
12:00 PM	Roundtable Discussion <i>Policy Analysis and Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BiH's think tank market • BiH's current political party practices • Avenues for future development and cooperation between think tanks and political parties
2:00 PM	Seminar closing and evaluations
2:30 PM	<i>Lunch and participant departures</i>

Attachment K

Participants List

Policy Analysis Seminar

June 18-19, 2005

Sarajevo

No.	Name	Party	Position
1	Josip Lukin	SDP	Vicepresident
2	Seudin Hodzic	SDP	President of Municipal Board
3	Djapic Goran	SDP	Sekretary of Regional Board
4	Ivanka Gavric	NHI	President of Regional Board
5	Stakic Stako	DS	President of City Board
6	Puric Nikola	DS	Member of Municipal Board
7	Franjo Kristic	NHI	Member of Presidency
8	Mladen Stojanovic	DS	PR office
9	Vinko Lolic	DNS	PR office
10	Pisarevic Slobodan	SPRS	Member of Board
11	Crnogorac Gordana	SPRS	Women Branch
12	Brcic Nebojsa	SPRS	Secretary of Municipal Board /Youth Branch
13	Marina Mujkanovic	SDP	Party Secretary-Mostar Office
14	Damir Mehmedbasic	NSRZB	Advisor for Political Issues

Attachment L

Polling Consultant Biographies

IRI Survey Research Project

June - October, 2005

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bob Carpenter

Bob Carpenter is the Vice President of American Viewpoint, a public-opinion research firm founded in 1985 and based in Alexandria Virginia. Bob has extensive experience in state party management, campaign management and legislative affairs. He has worked at all levels of government and has managed campaigns and worked for or with State Parties in numerous states.

Over the last twenty years, Bob has worked for the California Legislature; the California Republican Party both as Political Director and Executive Director; the Republican Party of Alaska as both Political and Executive Director; the Republican National Committee as Deputy Regional Political Director for the Great Lakes region and as National Field Director; and Executive Director of Victory '92-New York.

In 1994, Bob came to work for American Viewpoint as an analyst and was promoted to the position of Vice President shortly thereafter.

At American Viewpoint, Bob has moderated focus groups and dial test sessions for both political and corporate clients including Congressman Richard Baker, the American Medical Association, Dow Corning, Philip Morris, GE Capital Mortgage, the White House Project, the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, and the National Environment Trust.

He has conducted survey research for Congressmen Devin Nunes and Richard Baker, Evansville Mayor Russ Lloyd, Louisiana gubernatorial candidate Dan Kyle, Louisiana Lt. Governor candidate Kirt Bennett, congressional candidates Adam Taff, Melissa Brown, Norma Smith and corporate clients including the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, The WISH List, the Republican Pro-Choice Coalition, the Republican Governors Association, the National Republican Congressional Committee, Philip Morris, the White House Project, the United States Postal Service, and the American Hospital Association.

Bob is a native of California. He holds a Bachelors Degree from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo and a Masters of Public Administration degree from the University of Southern California.

Dino Đipa

Dino Đipa is the co-Founder, co-Owner and current Research Director of Prism Research, one of the first and currently largest independent public opinion research agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his capacity of Research Director of Prism Research, Mr. Đipa was responsible for the design and implementation of almost all major pre-election studies in Bosnia Herezgovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Albania in the last 7 years. This includes pre-election studies for municipal elections in B&H in 2004, organized by IRI, general and municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998, 2000, 2002,

organized by NDI and later OSCE, general elections in Kosovo in 2000, organized by OSCE and NDI, general elections in Montenegro in 2001 and 2003, organized by NDI, and general elections in Albania in 2005, organized by NDI. Mr. Đipa is also the director of the largest public opinion tracking study in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Early Warning System of UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, running from 2000 to date. In addition, Mr. Đipa is the co-founder and Research Director of CEPOS, a domestic think tank organization working to analyze issues of community concern. From September 1997 to September 2000, Mr. Djipa worked at the University of Sarajevo as an associate to professors in the Department of Psychology.

Mr. Djipa received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from the University of Sarajevo. He conducted post-graduate studies in psychology, statistics and methodology of social research at the University of Zagreb and is currently pursuing a Master's degree in Business Administration through the University of Delaware.

Marina Franic

Marina Franic serves as Researcher with Prism Research, an independent public opinion research agency based in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ms. Franic is responsible for the planning, organizing and coordinating of research projects for the agency. During the period of September 2004 – May 2005, Ms. Franic conducted a series of seminars on public opinion polling and the research process to members of the nongovernmental organization community and municipality representatives in coordination with OSCE. In addition, Ms. Franic has been an active volunteer in the field of psychology by working on an intervention hotline and conducting psychological evaluations with a psychiatry clinic.

Ms. Franic received a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology from the University of Zagreb. She is conducting post-graduate studies in marketing research and communications at both the Economics Faculty at the University of Sarajevo and through an on-line program at the University of Georgia.